

45:6

# Social Progress

*"If the foundations  
are destroyed . . ."*

# Social Progress

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Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to provide a forum for the Church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action or of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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## FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

### Psalm 11:3

**I**F THE foundations are destroyed, what can the righteous do?" It is now of greater importance than ever that the great bases of our social concern should be kept constantly in mind. To this end, this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS lifts up the religious and evangelical foundations of social education and action. Biblically and historically, our Christian faith makes social responsibility not justifiable but imperative.

### "Of One Blood"

**R**ACE Relations Sunday, February 13, will be observed in a variety of ways in many churches across the land.

In some communities there will be traditional pulpit exchanges between predominantly white and Negro churches. We suggest that these exchanges will be much more meaningful if laymen are involved as well as ministers, the pews as well as the pulpits. Let the arrangements provide that each minister in the exchange be accompanied by a number of families from his church, perhaps the families of church officers. There is also the interesting possibility of an exchange of ushers, of choirs, of Sunday school teachers.

Early in the fall two churches in Baltimore, one Negro and the other white, carried on a "lend-lease" program for several weeks involving church school teachers and pupils, choir members, ushers, families of the congregation. On World-wide Communion Sunday, for example, Negro elders served the elements in the white church, while the white elders assisted in the Negro church.

In all this, we should keep in mind that interracial understanding and behavior are usually not greatly affected by sermons on the subject of prejudice or even by pulpit exchanges in Brotherhood Month. The most powerful influence in changing attitudes is fellowship—best of all, Christian fellowship under the aegis of the Church—where people of varied racial backgrounds have the opportunity to meet in friendly ways and to become acquainted with one another.



## Citizenship Seminars

A CHURCHMEN'S seminar will be held in Washington February 15-18, which will be attended by men and women from churches in all parts of the country. The seminar is sponsored by the Washington Office of the National Council of Churches in co-operation with the social education and action departments of several denominations. Attendance is limited strictly to three hundred. The Presbyterian quota is only thirty-five. A number of ministers and other church leaders have indicated their desire to attend, but at the time of this writing there is still room for several other persons under the Presbyterian quota. First come, first served. Write to the Department immediately for information.

Other seminars are being sponsored by the Department of Social Education and Action on an invitation basis. One is a Rural Life Seminar to be held in Washington, February 8-10, 1955. Another is a World Affairs Seminar in New York and Washington from March 29 to April 1. For information about these, write to the Department of Social Education and Action. In all cases applications and invitations must be cleared through Christian Education Field Directors and Field Representatives in the synods.

## Christian Principles for Economic Life

1954 is bound to be known as a year of great Church pronouncements—the stirring Message, section reports, and other papers from the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches; the Message of the Boston Assembly of the National Council of Churches; the pronouncements and declarations from the General Board of the National Council, as well as from several denominations. We believe that none of these statements is more timely or important than the one entitled "Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life," which was adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches last September. The text of the statement, very slightly abridged, appears on page 14 of this issue.

The statement begins with an introduction which emphasizes the prophetic role of the Church. This role the churches dare not abandon, especially in a time when our way of life has been challenged by the totalitarian philosophy and practice of Communism.

Then follows a brief consideration of fundamental religious and ethical assumptions relevant to economic life. Here are emphasized the universal

Lordship of God, the purpose of God's creation of the world and of the bountiful "resources" for man's life, the meaning of man's creation in the image of God and of man's need for redemption, the Christian teaching about the dignity and possibilities of all persons, the duty of men to love one another, the importance of freedom as a basic Christian value which enters into all human relations. In this section a discerning minister will find seeds for many sermons.

Certain misconceptions about economic life are treated in the third section of the statement. One of these misconceptions is the belief that some particular economic system is ordained by God. Another is that benevolent intentions may sometimes justify domination by those who have superior status and opportunity. Still other misconceptions are that the one sure road to economic success is the socialization of the major means of production, and, in contrast, that a maximum of individual economic freedom will create the economic conditions that make for a good society.

The heart of the statement is the next section in which are presented thirteen norms for the guidance of Christians in their judgment of economic institutions and practices, and in their personal decisions in various occupations. These principles are of the nature of "middle axioms" for the application of Christian ethical principles in the realm of economic relationships.

The fifth and concluding section of the statement has to do with the contributions of the churches to the solution of economic problems. The central contribution, of course, is to help church members to turn Christian principles into attitudes that motivate everyday behavior. These attitudes derive from faith in God's righteousness and love. Two attitudes particularly are important—love in the form of sensitive concern for the welfare of all persons, and humility that comes when a follower of Christ sees himself and his own social group under the judgment of God.

"Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life" is the result of a great many hours of study and discussion over several years by members of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches. Mr. Charles Taft, chairman of the Department, and Dr. Cameron P. Hall, executive director, deserve our commendation. We should be grateful to Mr. Taft for his able interpretation of the document to the General Board of the National Council, and to Dr. John Mackay and Dr. Paul Payne, Presbyterian representatives, who argued persuasively for its adoption.

## Concerning Social Progress

SOCIAL PROGRESS is now midway in its forty-fifth year of publication. The magazine was launched in September, 1908, under the title of *The Amethyst*. In those days it was essentially a temperance publication, as suggested by its title—amethyst being in mythology the touchstone of sobriety. In succeeding years, the magazine was known as *Moral Welfare*. For a year in the middle thirties, it was merged with a Board of Christian Education publication called *Pageant*. The present title, SOCIAL PROGRESS, was adopted in 1934.

The purpose of SOCIAL PROGRESS is to help keep the Church informed and alert concerning social issues, particularly the issues to which General Assembly pronouncements are directed. The policy of the magazine is to attempt to give all sides of sensitive and controversial issues on which the Church has no declared positions. When the articles and editorials in SOCIAL PROGRESS deal with subjects on which the Church has pronounced, the editorial policy is to support the position taken by the Church through General Assembly action. Nearly all of the questions with which we deal in SOCIAL PROGRESS are those touched upon by the pronouncements.

Occasionally, ministers and other church leaders suggest to us that SOCIAL PROGRESS should launch an "every home" plan similar to that of *Presbyterian Life*, which has made it the leading Protestant magazine in America today. We wish to say most frankly that if we intended "every home" consumption we would have to make SOCIAL PROGRESS quite a different magazine from what it is at the present time. The articles in it are generally quite brief and "low-brow," but even so they are not usually "popular" pieces. It is our desire and intention that SOCIAL PROGRESS should be read by the ministers and a rather selected group of leaders in all of our churches. Instead of an "every home" plan, we should like to launch an "every leader" plan for SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Who should read our magazine? Let us suggest the following persons in every local church: minister, deacons, trustees, Christian education committee members, social education and action subcommittee members, church school administrative officers, church school teachers, officers of older youth and young adult groups, officers and leaders of women's organizations, officers and leaders of the men's council, persons representing the church in community organizations and agencies.

—Clifford Earle, Margaret Kuhn, H. B. Sissel

# Churches and Public Affairs

*By CLIFFORD EARLE, Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education*

**W**HAT is the Christian rationale for social education and action? By what right does a church become interested in public affairs and seek to influence their course?

Let's "ground" the problem. Several years ago a number of churches in Chicago were aroused over evidence of bad administration in the public school system and helped to bring about corrective measures. Churches in Washington, D. C., and in many other cities, are doing much to speed the elimination of racial discrimination in public places. Valiant fights against legalized gambling have been carried on by churches and churchmen in New Jersey, Oregon, and several other states. Church representatives frequently testify before committees of Congress on legislative proposals affecting the common good. Important Church assemblies in recent years have "pronounced" on many sensitive social issues. These are only a few of the endless varieties of Christian social action.

This is the question: Are these forays of the churches into public affairs justified by the nature of the gospel? To what extent, if at all, does our historic faith require churches to be concerned about social issues?

## God's Sovereign Rule

Consider, first of all, the Christian idea of God as the creator and ruler of the universe. This tremendous conception has special significance for Christian social action. When we affirm the sovereignty of God we most surely mean that his rule extends to every phase of man's life. We mean that God's will is the ultimate reference in every field of human activity.

It should be clear, then, that nothing that concerns man or his welfare is out of bounds for the churches. Their mission in the world is prophetic as well as redemptive. Fashioned for God's purpose, they are under obligation to consider the whole life of man in the light of God's intention as revealed in Christ.

What about issues of a political nature? We frequently are told that the mission of the churches in political matters is merely to tell people to do their duty as citizens without attempting to set up guideposts. This kind of thinking fails to take account of the fact of God's sovereign rule. The churches, under God, cannot be neutral in the presence of any issue, however controversial, that affects the rights and well-being of persons.

The widely noted Letter to Presbyterians, issued by the General Council of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in 1953, said: "While it is not the role of the Christian Church to present blueprints for the organization of society and the conduct of government, the Church owes it to its own members and to men in general, to draw attention to violations of those spiritual bases of human relationship which have been established by God. It has the obligation also to proclaim those principles, and to instill that spirit, which are essential for social health, and which form the indispensable foundation of sound and stable policies in the affairs of state."

The sovereignty of God means that only God's plan will work in the world. Ultimately every measure and scheme not in accord with God's will is bound to fail. Here is the ground of our Christian confidence. In the meantime, our duty is clear. We must seek to fulfill the purposes of God in every area of life—in race relations, in economic life, in home and community relations, in international affairs.

### Supreme Worth of Persons

In the second place, consider the Christian view of man as a creature of supreme worth in the sight of Almighty God. "Thou hast made him a little less than divine," said the psalmist. In the New Testament, the central truth is God's love for every

man. This emphasis upon the supreme importance of persons is the key to Christian social responsibility.

Public affairs, then, in so far as they affect people and their welfare, are a proper field of action for the churches. Indeed, we may say that right and wrong in social issues and institutions depend on what they do to persons. Whatever sustains and enhances a man's life and affirms his worth as a child of God is right and should be encouraged. Whatever degrades a man or denies his worth, whatever keeps him from fulfilling God's purposes in his life, is wrong and should be resisted by the churches with all their skill and power.

In "sizing up" a social situation, the key question to consider is what happens to persons who are, or could be, involved in it. Their position gives the Christian perspective.

There is real danger, however, that in all this we begin to believe that the evil which afflicts mankind is located in the social order rather than in the human heart. We do not improve a person simply by improving his social relationships. We only remove some of the difficulties in the way of his becoming a better person; we make it less possible for men to hurt one another and more possible for them to help one another. After all, the social order has no actual form or substance apart from the persons who compose it. What we call social evil is the result of

ignorance or stupidity or sin on the part of some person or persons, probably unknown. The Christian view of man takes into account, with complete honesty and realism, his fallen state and his need to be saved from himself.

It is important to note that in its person-centeredness, Christian social action is closely allied with evangelism. The two disciplines have a common goal—the fulfilling of God's purposes in the lives of individuals. Both are based on the Christian view of man's infinite worth in the sight of God.

### The Law of Love

Finally, consider the Christian view of community, especially the requirement that we love our fellow men—"your neighbor as yourself." Indeed, the New Testament makes love the test of faith and life. "He who does not love does not know God; for God is love," said John. Here is one of the most compelling motives for Christian social action.

Writers in the field of Christian ethics repeatedly point out the radical nature of the law of love. It calls for a degree of goodness that is beyond any man's ability. Our lives are bound together by so many ties, we are so much a part of one another in society, that every person in his social conduct influences countless other persons. No man can begin to know the effect in the lives of others of decisions he is required to make

every day of his life. It is impossible for a person not to hurt others, or to be hurt by others, in the complex give-and-take of social living.

Hence the emphasis in much present-day ethical writing on the place and importance of compromise. We cannot perfectly fulfill the demands of Christian love, but that does not relieve us from the obligation of constantly striving to do better in our relations with others within the limits of social possibility. We are to think of compromise here not as the deliberate downgrading of behavior, but as the frank acceptance of the fact that our level best is really not so good. Thus compromise becomes a necessary ingredient of Christian behavior on the part of imperfect men in an imperfect world. Every deed is subject to human limitation. Compromise presents the only way open to us for doing God's will.

The point of all this is that the churches have an undebatable responsibility for doing what they can to make love the ruling factor in social relations. In the field of public affairs, issues can usually be judged by the extent to which the options express the principle of Christian love. Whenever this is the case, it would seem that the churches have an obligation to view the matter in the light of God's love, and to take such action as most fully signifies the Christian ideals of compassion and good will.

## The Churches Themselves

God's sovereign rule, the supreme worth of persons, the law of love—these articles of our historic faith provide a more than adequate rationale for Christian social action. They also provide a clue to the character of the churches' witness and influence in the field of public affairs.

The churches are concerned about social structures and forces, in terms of their bearing upon the lives of individuals, because God requires it.

All this should be kept constantly in mind by those responsible for alerting and directing the churches in this important area of responsibility. We find our motivation in the gospel of Christ, not in a vague hu-

manism which is either overly confident concerning men's power to save themselves by tinkering with the social order, or ultimately hopeless in the face of the world's vast evil.

The churches do well to turn to the social scientists for basic information and interpretation of the social scene and for useful techniques. But the only sufficient motivation is found in the gospel.

We mean, of course, that the churches themselves should become involved. It is not enough to tell church members to do their duty as "complete disciples" of Christ. In every community there are times when the church as a corporate body, true to its vocation, must stand up and be counted.

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**Conscience and Compromise, An Approach to Protestant Casuistry,**  
by Edward LeRoy Long, Jr. The Westminster Press, 1954. 166 pp. \$3.00.

We believe this is 1954's "book of the year" in the field of practical Christian ethics.

The problem is how to apply the demands of Christian faith to the concrete decisions of everyday life. Dr. Long suggests an approach that takes into account both the high call of the gospel and the limitations posed by the culture in which we live. He points out that the Church would be wise to develop specific "middle axioms" to guide individual and group choices in various areas of moral endeavor. He revives the idea of casuistry as a method of solving the universal problem of making Christian decisions within the limits of social possibility. However, he does not fail to underline the danger of relying solely on "working principles." Christian ethics go beyond casuistry, he affirms, and faith surpasses ethics.

This book deserves careful reading by ministers and laymen alike.

# Strategy of the Churches

By EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, *Stated Clerk, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; excerpts from an address delivered at the Third General Assembly of the National Council of Churches in Boston, December, 1954*

WHAT should be the strategy of the Churches in Christian life and work? I would not pretend to be the general and lay out a detailed plan for the Christian victory in the battle that engages us. Let me rather draw briefly to your attention two of the most striking topographical features of the ground on which our battle is being fought and in the sight of which our strategy must be planned.

The first of these topographical features is the great areas of swamp-land over which twentieth century men are struggling. There is a wide morass of hopelessness in which man now finds himself. Apart from God, modern man is fearful and confused to a degree that is comparable to the period of the breakup of the Roman Empire. Nobody really believes that Communism can be dealt with adequately by military might. I suspect very few can see any hopeful strategy for dealing with the political, international, or economic problems now confronting the free world. The level on which most of the recent political campaigns were waged, which produced, as all agree, a great apathy in

the American voter, is explainable chiefly by the fact that few of the politicians or voters have any real hope. They offer splintered boards to those struggling in quicksand to get them on a little better footing. But there is no high road even planned to get us out of the morass.

In such a field, it is clear to me that Christian strategy must be boldly based upon our faith in the God revealed in Jesus Christ. We need no more analyses of the horrible predicament man is in. We need a vision of the highway and the goal of God. I am not pleading for Pollyanna optimisms that a child can penetrate. I plead for a Christian strategy hopeful and bold because of our faith in Jesus Christ. Without a firm grasp on this faith, we have no strategy; with it proclaimed and depended upon, the Churches of this land can point the way out of the hopeless swamp to God's higher ground.

The second topographical feature of our field of battle is a whole series of ridges which divide mankind into separate groups, divided, without adequate intercommunication. There

is the well-known barrier of racial differences and distrust. Although some efforts have been made in the twentieth century to overpass this racial barrier—we may rejoice in many advances toward equality of races and their integration in American life—a sober judgment would have to admit that at mid-century, from a world view, there has been no time in our lives when there is so much danger of racial hatred or explosion.

There is also the well-known gulf of international separation. Again we can point with gratitude toward the efforts and successes of the twentieth century in furthering international co-operation and understanding. But still we see that the chauvinism of men is yet on the increase since the breakup of the medieval synthesis and our world trembles on the edge of atomic war. There are ideological fogs scattered across the terrain that divide men from men, brother from brother, and make it hard to distinguish friend from foe.

**Any successful strategy** of the Churches must make basic in its planning the attempt to draw all men into communication, understanding, and at the last into community.

It is clear that these ridges, this fog, these swamps and gulfs, this morass make the development of a Christian strategy entirely too much for us whether we fancy ourselves

generals or privates in the ranks. It is so much easier to camp in our cozy separate ecclesiastical valleys, shouting our ancient battle cries, sniping at others who might be allies. It is obvious that we risk much when we pack up our tents and set out to march with other companies whose ways are strange to us, whose weapons make us fearful, whose shibboleths sound like sibboleths. It is easy to conclude: the battle is lost; let's find the easy retreat back to the less rugged terrain over which we have thus far marched.

But there is a unity that draws our Christian Churches from their separate camps into an army. The same Commander calls us all to loyal service. Jesus Christ, Lord and Saviour, puts his mark on each separate banner. His is the strategy if we will but heed his commands. His is the victory already won. Dare we do aught else but follow? Surely we would be in a worse case if we supposed there were strength in us sufficient. It was David the warrior who encouraged Saul the depressed:

“ ‘Tis the weakness in strength, that  
I cry for! my flesh, that I seek  
In the Godhead! I seek and I find  
it. O Saul, it shall be  
A Face like my face that receives  
thee; a Man like to me,  
Thou shalt love and be loved by,  
forever: a Hand like this hand  
Shall throw open the gates of new  
life to thee! See the Christ  
stand!”

# The Church's Function in Society

*From a report by C. ARILD OLSEN, Executive Secretary, Division of Christian Life and Work, National Council of Churches*

WE DO not attempt to define the nature of the Church, nor to reconcile different concepts regarding the nature of the Church held by various elements in the National Council's constituency. Rather, we assume certain characteristics of the Church about which there seems to be general agreement.

*The first assumption* is that the Church's function is assigned to it, not improvised by it itself. Its function is to proclaim and spread the gospel. The cause of the Church is the gospel and the Kingdom of God. On the other hand, the Church is not unconcerned about these causes when they are committed to working for freedom, justice, and brotherhood. Freedom is rooted in faith. Justice is founded upon righteousness. The heart of brotherhood is love.

*A second assumption* is that the gospel is God's word to the individual and to the world, to a man and to men, to each person in his relation to God and to his neighbor, and to men collectively in community.

*A third assumption* has to do with the relation of the Church as an institution to the society in which it finds itself. It has a dual role.

One of its responsibilities is the conservation of values in that society. The other responsibility is that of being prophetic. It involves maintaining a tension between what is and what ought to be according to the requirements of the gospel. It denies the right of any social structure to claim absoluteness. As it will not identify Christianity with any instrumentality, political, social, or economic, so also will it not identify Christianity with any philosophy, ism, or ology of man's own origin.

The conservative and the prophetic role are both essential and should be kept in balance. The difficulty of this task is obvious. The issues confronting the world today, the legitimate requirements of democratic and sound organizational procedures, the demands of sensitive consciences and troubled souls, all make the prophetic role of the Church complicated. But it must never be abandoned. The Church must ever seek to bring the conservative and prophetic roles into mutually complementary agreement.

The revolutions going on throughout the world today are the

result of deep, underlying currents and developments, the source of which, ideologically and spiritually, in major phases have their origin in basic concepts and historical developments of the West. They are neither incidents nor accidents. They can be discerned and directed. The God of history is not fortuitous. The cross, raised not only on steeples, but planted at the very center of the issues and forces affecting mankind, has political, economic, and social consequences. We play into the hands of Communism not by recognizing the tensions precipitated by the search for social justice, but by failing to relate the gospel vitally to these tensions. Communism may starve people as a religion, but its appeal is often a factor of vast political consequence in the endeavor to secure the justice some people feel is denied them. We must affirm again and again that Christ is the hope of the world, for souls and society.

**To build a world** based on Christian social justice calls for dedication and hard intellectual labor. It is easy to speak in generalities; it is extremely difficult to devise the specifics that reveal Christian love in action and do justice to fellow men. The Church must discover new forms of Christian obedience and of community life. Only the gospel can make clear and define what true community is, and only the gospel can bring it into being. The com-

munion of saints has social and economic consequences.

We state our viewpoints quietly and humbly, but we must state them. They determine our strategy in Christian life and work. God rules. He is life, and the Lord of life.

Therefore, we have confidence in what his Church can do in his name. Therefore, we can make our plans, long-range plans, rooting them in policies not dictated by the exigencies of the day, but determined by his laws that prevail also on the morrow. Therefore the plans will be not only sound, we trust, but practicably realizable, because they will rest not on a budget sheet of our own devising, nor on calculations based on fiscal and human resources, but on faith in God. He cares for his children; therefore we care, and dare more than we can do ourselves.

This is basic to our daily "functional concerns" as these relate to the needs of people and to social issues, small and large, local and international. Many groups, peoples, and races are demanding a share in the factors that today make for power. We must affirm again and again that love is power; that power is not power over, but power with, which is also the essence of democracy; that faith is power and is relevant wherever power is an issue; that an ideology cannot be destroyed by bombs. Ideas and ideals, faith and love, are the basic elements of strategy in Christian life and work,

even in the *Realpolitik* of the struggle for power.

**The fundamental problem** in our consideration of the function of the Church is not whether we have done everything possible, but rather, have we remained faithful? Have we constantly sought the mind and the will of God? Have we had the insight to translate in some measure our faith into program and action?

In conclusion, I should like to turn again to some underlying concerns without which the purposes and objectives we hold and the daily routines of administration and programing we pursue have no significant meaning.

We have all come to know that man's real vocation, his basic calling, is to a life of love of God and neighbor. This is fundamental to all our concerns, our objectives, functions, programs, and budgets. We must affirm this our faith again and again. Because what we believe eventually determines what we do with our lives.

As we deal with social, economic, political, and other concerns, we must constantly ground our thinking and action on basic presuppositions. These presuppositions are not ideas and ideals founded on human rationality or based upon constitutionally guaranteed inalienable rights. They are, rather, laws of life grounded in religious faith and related fundamentally to all

human concerns. May we remind ourselves again that the commandment to love one's neighbor is the heart of man's real vocation. It is his calling to live responsibly in community. For the universal priesthood of all believers, it seems to me, ordains man not only as priest unto himself and before God, but also unto his fellow men. This is fundamental to the building of a responsible society.

Is it not obvious that love in community means also that corporate structures and corporate relationships that are just must involve the very embodiment of love? In a very real and in a very practical sense this is God's world. His law is embedded therein and governs, not statically, but as a living, creative force, and he is love. It is incongruous, to me at least, that his love cannot live and be structurally embodied and incorporated in his world.

As we seek the will of God we find it revealed not only in his law of justice, but also in the love made manifest in his Son, Jesus Christ. At the very heart of the law of justice is the love of God. It is not a pious affirmation the Christian makes: it is the very law of life of our social and corporate structures, if you will, that the love of God is the power, the pathway, and the program to the realization of the social justice we seek. Our capacity for justice will ultimately be determined by our capacity to love.

# Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life

*Adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches, September 15, 1954*

## Introduction

Christian churches have as a prime objective their ministry to individuals, and therefore have also a basic relationship and responsibility to the society which they seek to serve. Their role in that society has two aspects.

One of their responsibilities is the conservation and promotion in that society of such values as justice and freedom.

The other responsibility is prophetic, in the Scriptural sense of trying to view all human relations and institutions in the light of the teachings of the gospel. It involves leadership in the continuous struggle so to improve what is that it moves toward what ought to be, according to that standard. This means pointing out and trying to correct imperfections and abuses.

These roles—the conserving and the prophetic—are both essential. There is a complicating factor, however, in the position of our American society in the world today. We believe that from the Christian standpoint free democratic institutions

are clearly superior to any form of totalitarianism. But our way of life has been challenged by totalitarian philosophies and practices, especially Communism, which are competing with it for the loyalty of men around the world.

In this situation many of our people are inclined to discourage or neglect self-criticism; but self-criticism is a normal aspect of health and strength and a means of growth in a democracy. Any admission of fault or failure in our society may be falsely construed as giving aid and comfort to enemies, even as disloyal or subversive. The prophetic role of the Church thus becomes especially difficult.

Yet the churches dare not abandon the prophetic role. To do so would be to yield leadership for peace and freedom and justice and to disregard the churches' mandatory responsibility under the gospel. When we cease to strive and speak for society based upon these values, we give the impression that we have ceased to care about them.

The statement which follows is concerned with basic principles and

assumptions in relation to economic life in the light of the teachings of the gospel, together with the function of the churches and the attitude of individual Christians. It seeks to maintain an appropriate balance between the conserving and the prophetic roles of the Church.

### **Religious and Ethical Assumptions**

God as we know him through Christ is the God of history, of nations and peoples, as well as of individual souls. It is his will that his Kingdom be realized among men and that his Lordship be acknowledged over all principalities and powers, over every department of life, including economic institutions and practices. The Church is under a divine imperative to call all men—and especially its own members—to recognize the meaning of God's Lordship over their economic activities. "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth."

All the resources of the earth—such as land and water and mineral deposits, which under the laws of man become private or public property—are gifts of God, and every form of ownership or use of such property should be kept under such scrutiny that it may not distort the purpose of God's creation. God is the only absolute owner. Every Christian particularly should look upon all of his possessions, as well as his talents, as a trustee, and should use them in

the light of his understanding of God's purpose for him. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."

All men are created in the image of God; and though they are, in history, sinful and rebellious as the slaves of their own self-will, God seeks to redeem them from their self-centeredness. Men experience freedom in the measure in which they are willing to become God's servants, and to allow God as revealed in Christ to become the center of their lives and the pattern of their living.

This teaching about man is the Christian basis for belief in the dignity and possibilities of all persons, whatever their status in the economic order. Persons uniquely combine body and spirit, and the needs of both should be emphasized in the Christian Church. That the material needs of men be met through their economic institutions and activities is one condition of their spiritual growth. "Give us this day our daily bread."

Men were made to love one another, and to live as members of a community that transcends all barriers of race or nation or class. All economic institutions and practices that tend to divide men because they enhance false pride, covetousness, and bitterness, or encourage laziness or the selfish use of power, stand under Christian moral judgment. The Church should seek to influence the

*(Continued on page 20)*

# The Power and Unity of Our Faith

LOOKING to Jesus Christ, the source of our power and unity, the Third General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, sends greetings to the Churches and people of America, and to our brothers throughout the world.

This is usually defined as a dark time. Fear and doubt are rampant. The explosive nature of international relations holds the threat of war before us. We have found a path to wealth and plenty, yet we were never more conscious of the truth that man does not live by bread alone. We live in a world where people differ in ideas, color, and race. These differences are all too frequently exploited by forces of hate and dissension.

But hear the good news of God in Jesus Christ! His word is to fear not, for in him all things find their meaning and their destiny. Our duty as Christians is to live in the confidence of our faith and to respond with courage, mercy, justice, and love to the choices which confront us.

There is apparent in America a spiritual seeking and hunger. In this day of crisis, the heritage of our Christian faith becomes ever more precious, and more Americans are turning to their churches for communion with God and the renewal of their faith. God is our refuge and strength, and in him we find unity and power. As we meet together, we give thanks to God that he has called us as his witnesses for such a time as this.

## The Churches in Relation to Society

The historical American doctrine of the separation of Church and State has been ably defended by our Churches. There are some happy signs of a return to a more careful protection of human liberties within the framework of tested constitutional procedures. We must continue to press vigorously for fair practices in our public life, for the right of the accused to face the accuser, and for the preservation of those freedoms which are our cherished heritage. We must be alert to reject any programs or policies in our corporate life which tend toward undue regimentation of individuals, the domination of a philosophy of brute force or materialism in our national life, and the encroachment of undemocratic methods upon our liberties.

The historic decision of the Supreme Court has put a legal end to segregation in the public schools. We believe it is the responsibility and opportunity of each local church to create the attitudes essential to carrying out

*A Message from the Third General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, adopted at Boston, Massachusetts, December 3, 1954*

this decision. We call on all Christian churches, whose faith recognizes the unity of men in God, to help make the transition from a segregated to a nonsegregated society not only in the public schools but throughout the community, especially within the life and practice of the church itself. We must champion the rights of minorities and defend the dignity of all men.

The fundamental opposition to Communism comes from the Christian Church. Across the world, totalitarian and tyrannical systems have found in it their most stubborn barrier. In our own country our Churches have been united in opposition to the attitudes, conditions, and practices that encourage Communism. We reject Communism because of its atheism, its disregard of the rights of the individual, its misunderstanding of the nature of man and of society, and its inherent tyranny.

We believe that the proclamation and demonstration of the Christian faith is essential to the health of our society. If the Christians of the first century could have envisioned a time when the Church would have the potentialities within any nation possessed today by our own churches in our own country, they would have expected the transformation of that nation. We must confess that we have not yet done what God has given us the potentiality to do. We need to search our lives as church members and ask why we are not more effective in our witness to our faith. We cannot forget the warning that from those unto whom much is given, much shall be required.

### **The Churches in Relation to Each Other**

Underlying our common work is a deep and abiding faith in Christ as divine Lord and Saviour. We have discovered new strength and effectiveness in our common enterprises through the National Council of Churches. When we speak unitedly as Christians, we affirm a oneness in Christian experience which we believe is an increasing reality among us.

While we have begun to sense our unity, we are not always clear what practical obligations it places on us. We have the vision of unity as a principle, and now we must translate it into actual practice. We must provide the best pastoral and lay leadership for the unified community programs of the local councils of churches. We must provide new sources of financial support for our common work. We believe that God is giving a united Christian enterprise the greatest opportunity it has ever had, and we must grasp it. This is the day for a great demonstration of the power of faith.

## A Message to Clergy and Laity

There has never been a wider opportunity to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ than just now. This wider opportunity is found not only in the churches within the bounds of our own nation but in our wider ministry throughout the world; not only in churches at home but in the hundreds of chapels serving our armed forces overseas. Wherever the gospel is being preached with effectiveness and devotion churches do not lack for worshipers. There is hunger on the part of this generation which only the Christian gospel can satisfy. The need is for a more understanding ministry in order that the gospel may become more effective in daily life. Pastors must be aware of the daily problems of those to whom they minister.

A free pulpit is a sacred trust. Let the ministers of the nation speak with authority and conviction the good news of God in Christ. We believe that America is ready for a great spiritual awakening and revival. The minister must be a man of great expectations. It is necessary that each should search his soul and pray that the revival may grow in his own heart. Let us strengthen one another through prayer and fellowship. The ministers of America have a great responsibility for the spiritual destiny of this generation.

We are heartened by the strong movements for increased lay leader-

ship within the churches. It is inspiring to observe the eagerness of laymen and laywomen to discipline themselves spiritually that they may have power to win others to Christ. A church which does not give the laity definite opportunity to experience the full dimensions of the Christian faith by sharing in broader responsibilities of the church need not wonder if it becomes ineffective.

There are dark places in our social life where the light of Christ can shine only through the lay members of the churches. Each individual possesses separate and special gifts to be used in the work of the Kingdom, and the contacts of daily work offer unique opportunities for a Christian witness in the midst of daily problems. We rejoice over the number of Christians who are bearing their witness bravely in difficult situations. They are the salt of the earth and the light in a dark world.

## To the World-wide Fellowship

With the memories of the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches fresh in our minds and aware of the hard tests to which this world-wide fellowship has been subjected, we rejoice that its resolution to stay together has been strengthened. This fellowship is a great new fact and it is the basis of a great new hope. We maintain confidence not only in those with whom we are free to associate but also in those faithful Christians who now find

themselves behind the "iron" and "bamboo" curtains. Though we are separated from them, we are one with them in the fellowship of the Christian Church.

The Christian Church around the world is by its nature a symbol of man's universal hope for peace. This world-wide fellowship of Christians should be and is a major factor in the building of international understanding and good will. As Christians we are called to the ministry of peace in a special way. Our prayers are an act of faith and our efforts to end war a demonstration of our devotion to the Prince of Peace.

We believe that our Government should continue to support the United Nations. The Churches in every land have a special responsibility to further the achievement of universal disarmament and the constructive use of atomic power. We believe that the common people everywhere want peace and the Churches under God should be their voice.

We should share with our fellow men our material goods and technical skills, wherever possible assist those who are homeless and stateless, and always hold them before the throne of God in prayer. Some of our fellow Christians are making

sacrifices we have not made, and they bear witness to their faith with greater fortitude than we have been called upon to display. We hope that they will pray for us whose temptations may be different but in no way less dangerous. We are heartened by the realization that Christ has brought us together in the unity of such a mighty fellowship.

### Conclusion

We believe that God has called us, as he has called all people, to be instruments of his purpose. We are grateful that in our own nation we have, under God, a heritage of free worship according to conscience. We rejoice that the State is free from the domination of the Church and that the Church is free from the domination of the State.

We are not satisfied with our inadequate response to what Jesus Christ can do and wants to do through the Church. We pray that the witness of the Churches may come nearer to the will of God. We know that we cannot live without God and we cannot ignore the truth about life revealed through Christ. He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; the answer to our deepest needs. In the power and unity of his gospel we dedicate ourselves anew to the unfinished tasks of his Kingdom.

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*The People Take the Lead (1948-1955)* reports a record of genuine progress and positive gains in the area of civil rights since 1947. Order from Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. 10 cents.

## PRINCIPLES AND ASSUMPTIONS

(Continued from page 15)

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development of economic life in such a way that economic institutions, policies, and practices are favorable to right relations between people. "You shall love your neighbor as yourself."

Freedom is another basic value which enters into all human relations. Spiritual and cultural aspects of freedom are primary in society, and essential to its full development in accord with Christian principles. It is therefore important to consider the ways in which this freedom is influenced, for good or ill, by the institutions and practices of economic life. The basis of real freedom is expressed in the words "We must obey God rather than men."

Economic institutions and activities should serve the whole man—body and spirit. A rising standard of living is desirable, but it may tend in a rich society to create wants and to overemphasize the acquisition and enjoyment of material things in a way incompatible with Christian purpose. "Man shall not live by bread alone."

These fundamental principles should be represented and reflected in the working of any economic system. Economic institutions and activities should never become a law unto themselves. Their purpose is to serve human need. "You will know them by their fruits."

### Certain Misconceptions

The churches in their teaching and behavior, however, have often obscured the fundamental principles we have stated above because of certain misconceptions, which can be appraised now more easily than in earlier times.

One of these misconceptions is the belief that some particular economic system is ordained by God. This belief has been applied to slavery and to feudalism; often also to the idea that the possession of wealth is a mark of the divine favor. Through the centuries even the Church has often taken a passive attitude toward the secular *status quo* simply because it exists, and therefore must exist by divine providence. Indeed the Christian tradition itself has been often thus interpreted. We now recognize that God's providence may work for preservation, modification, or displacement of some existing forms of economic institutions or for the creation of some new forms. Though God works within a changing order, there is no automatic progress in history. Change does not always mean progress. Sinful human choices go into the making of new social structures as well as into the maintenance of the old. To both new and old forms of economic life Christians should bring criticism or

appreciation from minds made sensitive by God's spirit.

Another misconception is that in basic economic relationships benevolent intentions justify domination by those who have superior status and power. Benevolent intentions have been used with sincerity at one time or another to justify slavery, to give religious sanction to white supremacy and the continuance of imperialism, to prevent the poor from having education or the suffrage, or to discourage constructive land reform or the organization of labor. It is also true that sincerely benevolent intentions have been used to justify many impracticable or wrongful means and some mistaken goals of economic reform. The splintering of political and economic entities, the distribution of land into uneconomic units, or the use of intimidation or violence in the organizing efforts of any economic group should thus be questioned. It is quite as true of irresponsible economic power as of irresponsible political power, that such power tends to corrupt those who exercise it.

In some situations Christians have had the misconception that the one sure road to economic justice is the socialization of all the major means of production. During periods of exploitation of large classes of the population, and also in times of depression and unemployment, it was understandable that some Christians and others concerned about the wel-

fare of the victims of the situation should regard every move toward increasing social control as an advance. Today we have enough knowledge of what happens under a thoroughgoing collectivism to realize that uncritical recourse to the state to remedy every evil creates its own evils. It may easily become a threat to freedom as well as to efficiency. The union of political and economic power is a dangerous road, whether it leads toward complete state control of economic life or toward control of the state by private centers of economic power. A wide distribution of centers of power and decision is important to the preservation of democratic freedom.

In contrast to the above misconception that socialization is an easy road to justice is another misconception held by some sincere Christians that a maximum of individual economic freedom will by itself create the economic conditions that contribute to a good society. On the contrary, the weight of evidence shows that some use of government in relation to economic activities is essential to provide the environment where human freedom can flourish.

Recognition and correction of these misconceptions have come both through the continuous working out of the meaning of the Christian faith and ethic and as a result of external events which the Church has had to recognize. Rapid and profound changes in recent centuries

have made it difficult to regard any particular economic institutions as final or as ordained by God. Exploited or neglected classes and races have won new political and social power, challenging the claims of previous holders of such power. In turn, holders of newly won power often come to regard too lightly their social responsibilities. In some countries, as in our own, the possibilities of a combination of individual freedom and social responsibility have been encouragingly indicated and continue to be explored, along with the relationship between government and private economic groups.

### **Applications of Ethical Principles**

The body of Christian teaching that has been developed in relation to economic institutions involves principles not easily harmonized, nor easily applied to concrete institutions, policies, and practices; and yet all of them have a rightful claim upon the Church and the Christian.

For example, in the present world situation there are real conflicts between such positive values as order and freedom, or order and justice, or justice and freedom. An economic system that neglects any one of those values will become intolerable. There is no completely "Christian economic system," suitable for all situations everywhere. It is however true that specific aspects and features of any economic system can be reviewed

to determine the extent to which they are consistent with Christian teachings. Christians should be guided by their ethic to seek such adjustments of economic institutions and practices as will serve most fully the three positive values of justice and order and freedom.

We can suggest here only briefly some norms for guidance of Christians in their judgment of economic institutions and practices and in their personal decisions in their various occupations.

1. All ethical demands upon economic institutions must take account of the importance of efficiency and productivity in the satisfying of human needs, as essential marks of a sound economy which seeks the maximum welfare of the greatest number of people.

2. Christians should work for a situation wherein all have access at least to a minimum standard of living. Such a minimum should be sufficient to permit care of the health of all and for suitable protection of the weaker members of society, such as children, the sick, the aged, and the incapacitated. It should protect the able-bodied against hazards beyond control.

3. All youth should have the right to equal opportunities to develop their capacities, in so far as society can provide them, through equal access to the means of health, education, and employment.

4. Economic institutions should be judged also by their impact upon the family—which involves standards of living, hours of labor, stability of employment, provision for housing, and the planning of cities, especially in relation to their industrial development and the elimination of blighted areas.

5. It is a clear Christian responsibility to work against those special forms of economic injustice that are expressed through racial and other group discrimination.

6. Every able-bodied adult has an obligation and the right to an opportunity to serve the community through work. He should take responsibility for supporting himself and his family. As an employee he has the same obligation to do an honest day's work as his employer has for paying a fair wage. . . . Large-scale unemployment, or long-continued unemployment for any considerable number of persons able and willing to work is intolerable. It ordinarily indicates defects in or relaxation of social and economic safeguards. All practicable safeguards should be provided and maintained.

7. Economic institutions should make constructive use of such motives as the desire for economic security, the desire to improve the economic conditions of one's family, the desire for wider scope for one's capacities, the desire for

social approval; but under Christian influences these motives should be kept in harmony with concern for the welfare of the community and with the individual's sense of Christian vocation. The Church should keep under the strongest criticism any economic institutions and practices which emphasize self-interest above social responsibility and which develop a moral climate within which the most highly honored success is in acquiring money. It should encourage economic practices and institutions which foster relations of mutual aid and co-operation.

8. Since private ownership of many forms of property is a stimulus to increase production of goods and services, and a protection to personal freedom, wider ownership among our people should be encouraged. But there are fundamental moral differences between the ways of acquiring property as well as between the ways of using it. Property, and position too, which give men great power over the lives and economic situations of others, require constant moral scrutiny.

9. Great contrasts between rich and poor in our society tend to destroy fellowship, to undermine equality of opportunity, and to undercut the political institutions of a responsible society. Those who benefit by such inequalities

are easily self-deceived when they seek to justify their own privileges, just as others may deceive themselves by failing to recognize as envy their own feelings toward the more deserving or fortunate.

Some inequalities of wealth and income are necessitated, in our society, both because of differences in service or function, and because of the great danger to freedom in trying to eliminate them completely. Christians should disapprove inequalities beyond the limits set by a broad view of justice and of the well-being of society. There is an unresolved dilemma here. On the one hand, there is the Christian concern about injustice that may be involved in inequalities. On the other hand, there is the need of the incentive to initiative and productivity that is provided when income varies with contribution.

10. Economic institutions should not restrict political freedom of any person and his participation in the common life. Such freedom tends to maintain a balance between the necessary role of government at its various levels, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the activity of private business, labor unions, and many other types of voluntary organization.

11. Economic decisions are in increasing measure group decisions, involving often political

as well as economic forms of organization. The Christian's vocation includes his finding his place within those political and economic movements which hold the greatest promise for the realization of the purposes indicated in this statement.

12. Christian responsibility for economic life must take into account also the needs of the whole world. The response to these needs involves the relation between production, distribution, and population. In some situations attention must be given to education for population control or to opportunities for migration; in others, to increase of productivity; and, in still others, to the elimination of artificial barriers to distribution. The relation between the obligation of Christians in the United States for preserving the health of economic institutions in their own country and their responsibility to people in the less favored countries often involves difficult moral problems. Every national policy should be viewed in relation to its consequences for the lives of people everywhere. Consideration must be given to its effect upon good relations between nations and upon the development of a peaceful world. We should practice tolerance toward the economic experiments of other peoples, in their exercise of freedom, though Christians will judge each

experiment by the same basic moral standards that we apply to our own.

13. In recent generations there have been great movements of protest against unjust inherited privileges and institutional relationships. Christians may properly welcome the rise of such protests, as distinct from some of the methods used or the outcomes of many such movements. Sometimes movements of social protest have rejected the Church and the Christian faith and have developed ideologies, often based on illusory hopes, that have become for millions of people inadequate substitutes for religion. The Christian Church should do all that it can to disclose the illusions in these ideologies and to confront the world with the gospel in its fullness; but at the same time it should in humility not forget that it has often obscured the radical ethical demands of the gospel and that it shares responsibility for the resulting spiritual confusion.

### **The Contributions of the Church**

The central contribution of the churches to the solution of economic problems is to help their members turn Christian principles into attitudes that motivate conduct. These attitudes grow out of faith in God's righteousness and love. Two attitudes should be emphasized: (1)

love that takes the form of sensitive concern for the welfare of all; (2) humility that comes when the Christian sees himself and his own group under the judgment of God. . . .

The churches should seek also to develop among their members the idea of Christian vocation in all constructive work. . . .

The churches themselves own property, invest funds, and employ labor. Often their policies have been no better than those which the Church condemns in the secular world. . . . In all these matters judgment should "begin at the house of God."

The Church recognizes that there are technical elements in most controversial issues which call for special knowledge and experience. . . .

No one of these requisites can be omitted: Christian objectives, standards, and attitudes; technical knowledge; seasoned judgment based upon actual participation in economic activities; and awareness of the human effect of any policy upon all groups of people as those groups themselves see it. All these elements must enter into the creation of the mind of the Church when the members of Christ's body seek to relate its fundamental faith and ethic to the concrete and complex economic issues in the contemporary world.

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# Christian ACTION

## UN NEWS NOTES

**Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld**, speaking before the World Council in Evanston, used words that should be read by churchmen everywhere: "In spite of differences in character and responsibility, the Churches and the United Nations have an aim in common and a field of action where they work side by side. . . . In speaking for justice, truth, and trust in public affairs, the Churches may be a decisive force for good in international and national political life. . . . They could help to explain what the UN stands for; how its ideals run parallel to the very aims and beliefs of the common man who wishes to live in peace with his neighbors, with freedom to build his own little world in human dignity." The whole speech should be read and might well be the basis for discussion in church groups. (See *United Nations Review*, October, 1954.)

**The work of UNRWA** (UN Relief and Works Agency) reads like a story. A recent donation of lumber from the Yugoslav Government to Palestine-Arab refugees in Gaza will furnish roofing and door and window

frames for some 9,000 rooms. A nurses' training program has been instituted by the Government of Jordan. Twenty-eight nurses are to be trained over a period of three years. Practical training in handicrafts for 2,000 secondary school students on a basis of half time in the classroom, half in the workshop, has progressed so well in Gaza that it is being extended to some 16,000 refugee students in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. An Indian expert recently arrived in Manila to head a project for control of snail fever. The Government of the Philippines, UN Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, and the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration are joining with the World Health Organization to stamp out this disease which seriously affects hundreds of thousands in the Philippine Islands alone and many more in other parts of Asia.

**Bank and Fund**—What has been called "a revolution of expectancy" in underdeveloped countries is being turned into "a revolution of achievement" through the work of the International Bank for Recon-

struction and Development. Tractors are working on land where only a bullock was used before, effecting a great advance in crop production. Truck roads are replacing donkey and camel trails, streams harnessed to produce energy for lighting and power, grain milled by machinery instead of by hand, centers opened for training local workers to replace UN experts.

The Bank in the year from June, 1953, to June, 1954, made 26 loans of \$324 million for projects in 16 countries which means advancement and hope for millions of people.

**During the session** of each Assembly representatives of many countries have a chance to speak, and it is especially interesting to note what is said by delegates from small nations. Here are a few ideas advanced during the Ninth Assembly.

Koca Popovic, of Yugoslavia, pointed out the dangerous tendency to solve important problems outside the UN. J. M. A. H. Luns, of the Netherlands, referring to large areas where people have neither freedom

nor real self-determination, deplored the occupation of countries by foreign troops against the will of the people and the lack of adequate moral and material aid for raising the standard of living. He said that more and more people must realize that there is no substitute for the United Nations.

Halvard Lange, of Norway, expressed great concern over the tendency to pass resolutions by such a bare majority that countries did not feel constrained to enforce them, also the increasing fear in the minds of many due to the development of weapons of mass destruction and the increasing burden of armaments.

Dr. Francisco Urrutia, of Colombia, deplored the tendency not to use the UN to solve problems clearly within its orbit due to the unwillingness of countries to present them for discussion.

Dr. José Ramón Guizado felt that smaller nations must have a greater voice and declared the veto neither just nor democratic in that it gave too much control to the five big powers.

—Mabel Head, *UN observer*

## ★ *Citizenship* ★

With repeated assurances by the leadership of both parties that the "public good" will be the determining factor in all legislative decisions, the 84th Congress has just gotten under way as we go to press.

Politics being what it is, these statements can be viewed with some misgiving. However, it is an indication of the general atmosphere in Washington as the nation embarks on a two-year period with a Republican

President and a Democratic Congress. The President has pledged his full co-operation with the legislators in all matters affecting the general welfare. Time alone can validate these promises.

The Senate is almost evenly divided, and the Democratic majority in the House is relatively small. Since there is deep cleavage within both parties, indications are that a coalition of "moderates," irrespective of party labels, will largely determine legislative results in this session. Some "political issues" may arise which will see party lines closely drawn, but in general these are expected to be at a minimum. Party unity has been emphasized in both camps, and the organization of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate indicates that the Eisenhower wing of the Party has a dominant position there for the first time.

The President's statements, his general attitude, and his series of bipartisan conferences have gone far toward setting the stage for a successful, co-operative, "working" relationship with a Congress in control of the opposition party. His personal popularity, as well as his basic political philosophy, also play a very real part. The leaders in both Houses are men who have long been personal friends of the President and who likewise are political "moderates." All of these factors lend credence to the opinion that the "divided" control of the Government in the next two years may work

better than on any previous such occasion, though this is not to say that all will be smooth sailing.

Except for some digression by the right wing of the Republican Party, there is likely to be pretty general agreement on the matter of over-all foreign policy. Domestic issues could tell another story, but manipulation of the legislative schedule may hold these differences to a minimum. The Democrats will no doubt seek changes in present farm and tax legislation, which they opposed in the last session, but present indications do not favor their meeting with success. At press time the Democrats were also seriously considering initiating a full-dress investigation of the whole question of internal security.

The President's State of the Union message was generally well received in Washington, though some criticism was noted in the right wing of his own party and by the Democratic National Committee. Most of the comment made mention of the moderate, statesmanlike quality of the message, but called attention to a shift in the President's position on many problems, as compared with his address of two years ago.

Appraising the current situation *The Washington Post* writes: "The public interest is strongly on the side of getting on with the job of passing appropriations, renewing necessary legislation, and considering each item in the President's program on its merits. It is no time for stale-

mate or partisan saturnalia. . . . In today's circumstances consideration of each proposal from the viewpoint of the maximum public advantage will be the best politics in the long run."

**Foreign Trade Program**—In all probability one of the most controversial issues to come before this session of Congress will be the President's request for a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and for added authority to make gradual and selective tariff cuts. Congressional leaders in both parties praised the President's special message on this subject and indicated their support for the program. "Protectionists" in his own party, however, have voiced their continued opposition, and a bitter floor fight is expected, though final favorable action on the measure is anticipated. Hearings were scheduled to begin in the House on January 17 on a bill (H.R. 1) incorporating the President's proposals and sponsored by Rep. Jere Cooper (D., Tenn.).

**Refugee Relief Program**—In the middle of January the Administrator of the present Refugee Relief Act, Scott McLeod, announced the progress to date on this program. As of December 31, 1954, 17,050 visas had been issued and 13,056 qualified immigrants admitted to the United States. He stated that 3,806 applications had been denied and that approximately 42,000 visas remained to be processed. He ex-

pressed doubt that the goal of 214,000 provided for in the Act could be reached by the cutoff date of December 31, 1956.

#### **Universal Military Training**

In a special message to the Congress on January 13, the President set forth the proposals of the Department of Defense for a four-year extension of the Selective Service Law and a somewhat disguised program of universal military training. Despite a maximum amount of "sugar-coating" and a determined effort to promote the idea that the plan involves "voluntary" service, the proposals boil down to a "continuing and universal system of military training." In the words of the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church: "There are no volunteers under these proposals. Every man who 'volunteers' does so only in preference to being drafted for two full years of military service. Nearly all young men would come under military control for a period of eight to ten years."

Observers have maintained for some time that to get a program such as the above enacted would demand the all-out support of President Eisenhower. This seems to be lacking in the carefully worded special message on the subject, wherein the President refrained from specifically endorsing the plan and urged Congress to initiate its own studies on the enactment of such a program.

—Helen Lineweaver,  
Washington Office

# About Books

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**Schools in Transition: Community Experiences in Desegregation**, edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan. The University of North Carolina Press, 1954. 272 pp. \$3.00.

This is the second volume resulting from an extensive study financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The important first volume, *The Negro and the Schools*, by Harry S. Ashmore, appeared in 1954.

The present volume presents a series of case studies of communities that have made the change-over from biracial public schools to integrated systems during the past few years. The communities studied lie along the border of the South—from New Jersey in the East, through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, to New Mexico and Arizona in the West. Most of them undertook the integration of the public schools under compulsion of state laws. The percentage of the Negro population in the communities varies from very small to substantial. The experience of these communities provides the best available guide to the solution of problems that will face thousands of American communities in the years to come as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision.

This is a book for teachers, lawyers, public officials, all churchmen. The writing is careful and objective, reflecting sound scholarship, but written in the layman's language.

One cannot help being impressed with the small part played by the churches in many of these communities in reference to school desegregation.

**An Almanac of Liberty**, by William Douglas. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954. 409 pp. \$5.50.

This intriguing book consists of 366 one-page essays on the subject of liberty by one of the most able and articulate exponents of freedom in America today.

The essays are presented as daily readings for one year. The first reading is for July 4 and concerns the Declaration of Independence. In almanac style, the themes of a great many of the pieces are suggested by historical events. In fact, the volume is a gold mine of historical references and illustrations relating to the growth of freedom in Western civilization, particularly in American life. Justice Douglas, writing with a very readable and informal style, traces the great movements toward political, social, and legal liberty to their

various sources. His legal mind probes the meaning of such events as the Stamp Act, the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the interrogation of Annie Lee Moss, the Supreme Court decision of last May, Governor Altgeld's pardon of the "Haymarket rioters," and the Nuremberg trials. The subject for October 21 is "The Presbyterian Manifesto of 1953" (the General Council's *Letter to Presbyterians*).

This is a book we wish could be in the hands of every minister and churchman in America.

**The Limits of Foreign Policy**, by Charles Burton Marshall. Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1954. 128 pp. \$3.00.

In this very important book, Mr. Marshall discusses the fundamentals of foreign policy, with emphasis on why we Americans so often fail to achieve the goals we set for ourselves in international affairs. He brilliantly dissects the elements of our position in the world today. He puts "power politics" in a new light, and shows that the opposition of the two great power systems of today—the American and Russian—were foreseen by acute observers even a century or more ago. With perception and persuasion, he speaks of things that can be neglected or disregarded only at our great peril. He closes with appropriate reference to Paul and to the "love" chapter in First Corinthians.

Mr. Marshall, through 1953, was

for several years a "policy maker" in the Department of State. Formerly on Harvard's faculty, he is one of America's most informed and able men in the field of international relations.

**A Democratic Manifesto**, by Samuel Enoch Stumpf. Vanderbilt University Press, 1954. 168 pp., index. \$2.75.

This stimulating book carries a subtitle, "The Impact of Dynamic Christianity Upon Public Life and Government." The book points the way to a deeper and firmer basis for our democratic faith. The challenge of Communism is discussed, but the chief aim of the book is to make manifest in very clear terms what democracy is and what is required to make it live in our world today. The author views democracy as (1) a basic phase centering upon the worth and dignity of the individual, (2) the acceptance of the supremacy of a law as interpreted in terms of the highest moral insights, and (3) a high call to moral endeavor. The philosophical and particularly the religious roots of democracy are analyzed and discussed from the standpoint of modern thought and motives.

Since 1948 Dr. Stumpf has been a member of the faculty at Vanderbilt University, where he now heads the Department of Philosophy. We have been indebted to Dr. Stumpf for the widely read and most useful pam-

phlet *Democracy and the Christian Faith*, which appeared in 1950.

**Adventure in Freedom:** Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America, by Oscar Handlin. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954. 283 pp., index. \$3.75.

Three hundred years ago, in 1654, twenty-three refugees from Brazil landed in New Amsterdam, the first Jewish settlers in America. Commemorating this event, Dr. Oscar Handlin of Harvard University, a distinguished writer and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, has written this vivid narrative history.

The early Jewish settlers found their adjustment to the New World relatively simple. They fought on both sides in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars; participated in the westward migration, often as peddlers and shopkeepers; made steady social and economic gains in all parts of the land. They met the challenge of their new-found freedom by contributing to the growth of America.

In the late nineteenth century, however, the flood of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe brought with it new problems of poverty, strangeness, and acute population concentrations, which made the integration of these later arrivals into American life vastly more difficult.

In *Adventure in Freedom* no aspect of early or contemporary Jewish experience in America is overlooked.

Dr. Handlin analyzes the effect of freedom on immigrants accustomed to life in European ghettos, the rise and fall of anti-Semitism, the development of Jewish philanthropical organizations, and the part played by American Jews in the Zionist movement. He points to the memorable careers of many outstanding personalities in all phases of American life.

This is an indispensable source book for everyone interested in intercultural relations.

**Power of Words,** by Stuart Chase. Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., 1954. 308 pp. \$3.95.

This is a very readable general survey of semantics with interesting excursions into other branches of communication—cybernetics, linguistics, group dynamics, communication among animals, language development in children, the perception experiments at Hanover and Princeton. After describing the new findings, Mr. Chase applies them to various fields—mass media, campaign oratory, Russian propaganda, economic talk, schoolroom talk, medical talk, gobbledegook.

This book illustrates the integration of the sciences in dealing with human relations. It would seem that semantics is a sort of common denominator among the sciences—an integrating discipline. Many preachers will place this book high up on their reading lists.

C. E.

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## Books Received

*How to Help Older People*, by Julietta K. Arthur. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1954. \$4.95.

*Moslems on the March*, by F. W. Fernau. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1954. \$5.00.

*The Political Institutions of Switzerland*, by George Sauser-Hall. Swiss National Tourist Office, 1946.

*United Nations Plays and Programs*, by Aileen Fisher and Olive Rabe. Plays, Inc., 1954. \$3.50.

*Strategy for the West*, by Sir John Slessor. William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1954. \$3.00.

*UN: Today and Tomorrow*, by Eleanor Roosevelt and William De Witt. Harper & Brothers, 1953. \$3.50.

*New Life in Old Lands*, by Kathleen McLaughlin. Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc., 1954. \$3.75.

*MacArthur: 1941-1951*, by Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby and John Chamberlain. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954. \$5.75.

*The Middle East*, by Halford L. Hoskins. The Macmillan Company, 1954. \$4.75.

*We Grew Up in America*, by Alice I. Hazeltine. Abingdon Press, 1954. \$2.75.

*Concise Dictionary of Ancient History*, by P. G. Woodcock. Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. \$6.00.

*The Book of Revelation Speaks to Us*, by Herbert H. Wernecke. The Westminster Press, 1954. \$3.00.

*The American People in the Twentieth Century*, by Oscar Handlin. Harvard University Press, 1954. \$3.75.

*McCarthy and the Communists*, by James Rorty and Moshe Dechter. The Beacon Press, 1954. \$2.00.

*The Arabian Peninsula*, by Richard H. Sanger. Cornell University Press, 1954. \$5.00.

*I Protest*, by G. Bromley Oxnam. Harper & Brothers, 1954. \$2.50.

*The Australian Way of Life*, by George Caiger. Columbia University Press, 1954. \$3.00.

*Tell Freedom*, by Peter Abrahams. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1954. \$4.00.

*The Treasury of Philosophy*, edited by Dagobert D. Runes. Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955. \$15.00.

This listing does not preclude the possibility of later review in these columns.

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*"Well, you've got to allow for differences of opinion, son!"*

—Courtesy Register & Tribune Syndicate.